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ABSTRACT

The communication patterns of 113 Japanese, 176 Mexican, and 285 Korean residents of the Chicago area were examined through a questionnaire about their interpersonal relationships within and across ethnic groups. Individual responses indicated the numbers and kinds of people (acquaintances, casual friends, close friends) with whom the subjects communicated, as well as the degree to which the subjects communicated with those people. The following conclusions were reached: (1) A positive relationship exists between the length of immigration history of ethnic groups and the amount of ethnic individuals' inter-ethnic communications. (2) A negative relationship exists between the length of immigration history and the degree to which ethnic individuals interact with members of their own ethnic group. (3) The more an ethnic individual participates in intra-ethnic communication, the less that person will participate in inter-ethnic communication. (4) An inverse relationship exists between levels of friendship and degrees to which ethnic individuals participate in inter-ethnic communication. (5) An individual's acculturation (degree of interaction with host society instead of own ethnic group) needs to be understood within the social/cultural contexts functionally significant to the individual's daily life. (RL)

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ACCULTURATION AND PATTERNS OF INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION RELATIONSHIPS: A STUDY OF JAPANESE, MEXICAN AND KOREAN COMMUNITIES IN THE CHICAGO AREA

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POINT OF VIEW

A human being is an open system, exchanging materials, energies, and information with the environment. A system is closed if there is no import or export of energy in any of its forms, and therefore, no change of components. Further, humans, as an open system, show a quality usually called adaptation. That is, humans possess the ability to react to their environments in a way that is favorable in some sense to the continued operation of their existence (Ruben, 1975).

Culture defines and prescribes modes of human behavior which each member of the group utilizes to remain functional in the system. Culture is "the patterned transactional relations of all members of the cultural-social field, each of which carries on continual intercourse with other members of the group" (Frank, 1975, p.128). A person's manifestion of culture, therefore, is viewed as a cumulative result of adaptive experiences in a cultural system.

Acculturation is an adaptive process in a human being as an open system. Commonly, it refers to the adaptive process of individuals who are raised in one culture and move to another culture. We see cultural changes taking place as an immigrant with increasing frequency deviates from accepted patterns of the old culture and utilizes patterns of the new culture.

Acculturation, however, is not limited to immigrants only. It also refers to the process of change in individuals who are raised in an ethnic subculture. Children of immigrants are socialized in multiple cultural systems in which they need to function simultaneously. In this case, the term, acculturation, refers to their adaptation to the larger cultural system of the host society. "Ethnicity," on the other hand, can be defined as the ethnic individuals' manifestation of the social-cultural patterns of the original culture.[1]

Communication is the fundamental process in and through which ethnic individuals adapt to their ethnic and host social-cultural environment. Through communication, ethnic individuals succeed or fail to evoke the kind of interpersonal relations in which they can pursue their goals. Through interpersonal relationships, they learn to conform with greater fidelity to those sanctioned patterns of the groups with whom they interact. In other words, communication networks hold social-cultural systems together and enable the individuals within the systems to share similar cultural experiences. More communication accompanies increased interdependence and an expanding social network.

A communication relationship is, therefore,the link between an ethnic individual, an ethnic community, and the external host society. Acculturation, then, can be viewed as the degree of development in communication relationships between an ethnic individual and members of the host society. Similarly, the "ethnicity" of an individual is essentially concerned with the degree of interpersonal involvement within his or her own ethnic group.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

One of the crucial elements in the study of the acculturation of ethnic individuals, therefore, is their communication relationships. An ethnic individual's interpersonal relationships represent the purpose, function, and product of his or her interpersonal communications. They are indirect indicators as well as determinants of acculturation.

A theoretical basis for this assumption is provided by Pearce and Stamm (1973) who propose the "coorientation theory." The theory postulates that two individuals who develop an intimate friendship with each other necessarily share a high degree of communication orientation, i.e., the similarity individuals in a dyad perceive between himself and the other in their orientation toward the topic of their communication (p. 178). Thus, one can predict that an ethnic individual who has developed a greater degree of intimate friendship with members of the host society shares a degree of communication coorientation with them. This higher degree of shared perspectives, in turn, should be an indication of greater acculturation. As Shibutani and Kwan (1965) stated, culture, after all, is a result of consensus and a "perspective shared by members of a group" (p.573).

A few empirical studies in the past have implicitly and explicitly assumed that ethnic individuals' participation in the host social network is positively associated with their acculturation. Spindler and Goldschmidt (1952), for example, included "group orientations and interactions" as part of the criteria for determining the degree of acculturation among Menomini Indians. Also, there is a considerable amount of empirical evidence to support the above theoretical and research assumption. Many studies of foreign students and visitors have shown that there is a positive relationship between the number of friends they have in the host society and their having a favorable attitude toward the host society or a general satisfaction level in living in the host society

(Coelho, 1958; Morris, 1960; Selltiz, Christ, Havel & Cook, 1963; Weinstock, 1964; See also Pool, 1965, for an extensive review of literature).

More recently, I have reported that the degree of a Korean immigrant's participation in the host communication channels significantly influences the level of refinement in perceiving the host social-cultural environment (Kim, 1976, 1977a). To examine the immigrant's communication patterns in greater detail, I employed three categories of interpersonal communication relationships. The categories represented three levels of interpersonal intimacy -- casual acquaintances, casual friends or colleagues, and intimate or close friends. These categories were further differentiated by the ethnicity of the individuals with whom the immigrant interacted -- Koreans, White Americans, Black Americans, and individuals in other ethnic groups.

The study findings demonstrated the importance of using multiple categories of interpersonal communication relationships in investigating the acculturation process. An analysis of developmental trends showed differential patterns of changes in differential levels of interpersonal communication relationships. On the casual acquaintance level, relationships with both Koreans and Americans increased simultaneously over the years. On the level of casual and intimate friendship, however, both intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communication relationships increased for the first five to seven years. After the initial phase,the number of American friends increased while the number of Korean friends decreased.

I have since replicated the study among two other ethnic populations-- Japanese and Mexican -- in the Chicago area. Items assessing respondents' interpersonal communication relationships were identical with those used in the study of Koreans (See Appendix for a sample items). In this paper, I will report the survey procedures and results from the two follow-up studies and compare them with the results from the previous study of Korean immigrants. The

following two main research questions will be explored:

1. What are the developmental patterns of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communication relationships among the Japanese and the Mexicans?
2. What are the commonalities and variations in the developmental patterns of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communication relationships among the Japanese, Mexicans, and Koreans?

SURVEY METHODS AND PROCEDURE

The three ethnic communities show distinct size, organization, and histories. In the following discussion, I shall briefly describe the characteristics of the three communities as well as the methods and procedures employed in the surveys.[2]

The Japanese Community[3]

The Japanese community in the Chicago area has a longer history of immigration than the Korean and the Mexican communities. It's population encompasses four generations, each of which closely corresponds to the immigration process. The first generation (Issei) of Japanese came to America between the 1890's and 1920's. The second generation (Nisei) is the first American-born generation. Some of them are called Kibei. The Kibei's were sent back to Japan by their Issei parents to be educated. The third generation are the Sansei. There are approximately 16,000 Japanese Americans in the Chicago area. Based on the age distribution, roughly 10% of the population are considered

Issei's, 55% Nisei's, and 30% Sansei's. The remainder of the population consists of the beginning of the fourth generation (Yonsei) and new immigrants or visitors.

The median age of the Japanese is approximately 50 years: this is consistent with their long immigration history. Generally speaking, the population has a higher degree of technical and professional occupational categories than the other two communities. 60% of all Japanese households have more than one employed individual, compared to 51% for the entire nation. The community is high in educational level and the median number of years of schooling is 12.5, compared to 12.1 nationally. 55% of the adult Japanese Americans (older than 18 years of age) are high school graduates. Approximately 30% of the population live in the north and northwest suburbs around the city, and the vast majority of the remainder is located on the north and northwest side of Chicago.

The Chicago Shimpo, one of the two community newspapers, annually publishes a comprehensive and updated listing of the Japanese population in the Chicago area. The directory covers approximately 75% of the entire population. Based on the Directory, 300 households were selected for a survey using the systematic random sampling method (Blalock, 1972, pp.514-18). The questionnaires were written in both English and Japanese. They were distributed and returned between June and July 1978. Out of the 300 households, 113 returned completed questionnaires with a response rate of 37.7%. Either the male or the female household head was asked to respond without consulting his or her spouse if the questionnaire was received by a married couple.

The Mexican Community[4]

The Mexican population in the Chicago area is far larger than the Japanese and the Korean population. The 1970 Census reported 106,000 Mexican-born or the Mexican background individuals in the Chicago area. The Mexicans comprise about half of the Spanish-speaking population in the Chicago area. This figure is considered a significant underrepresentation of the actual size of the Mexican population. Large numbers of Mexicans are unreported, and many more Mexicans have come to Chicago since 1970. Adjusting for this Census undercount and the population growth, the Mexican population is estimated to be about 250,000. The time interval during which more than half of the Mexicans have lived in the United States ranges between less than one year to 20 years.

The Mexicans, as well as other Latinos in general, are the youngest and the lowest-income group of the three ethnic groups. The median age as reported in the 1970 Census is 20.3 years: Median income was $8,359 as compared to $10,934 for the non-Spanish speaking population. Although there are no public statistics available for the Mexicans, about 52% of the Spanish speaking population were listed as operators of machines and laborers, 12% as service employees, 12.5% as craftsmen, 20% as sales and clerical employees, and only 7.9% as professionals and managers. This information corresponds with the low median educational level of 8.7 years of schooling, with only 27% having completed highschool. The majority of the Mexicans live in highly concentrated Latino neighborhoods. The biggest concentration of Latinos is found in uptown areas of Chicago and in a number of surrounding communities such as Gary, East Chicago, Chicago Heights, and Joliet.

There was no comprehensive list of the Mexican population available to the research for survey purposes. Further, many of the Mexicans were illiterate and reluctant to participate in the survey. Therefore,it was necessary to use a somewhat different method in studying the Mexican community. The questionnaires were not mailed out. Instead, they were personally distributed and collected during September and December 1977,through various community organizations, to (1) students in various employment skills and English-as-a-second language courses offered by urban progress centers, (2) business organizations (at their regular meetings), and (3) members of a Mexican community church in Joliet. The questionnaires were prepared in Spanish. At least one Spanish-speaking research assistant was present at all survey locations to answer questions and to assist those who were illiterate.

Approximately 400 Mexicans were contacted for the survey. 201 completed questionnaires were collected for a response rate of 50%. Out of the 201 respondents, 25 non-Mexican respondents were excluded from this investigation. Thus, the remaining 176 questionnaires were used for analysis.

The Korean Community[5]

The history of Korean immigration in the Chicago area is the shortest of the three groups. Most of the adult population in the Korean community are Korean-born first-generation immigrants. The duration of time in which the Koreans have lived in the United States generally ranges from 10 years to less than a year; more than 50% of the population immigrated with the last five years. The size of the population is estimated 25,000 - 30,000, of which more than 70% have immigrated within the last 10 years. This information indicates a rapid growth of the community in recent years.

The socio-demographic characteristics of the Korean population are somewhat similar to those of the Japanese community. Its educational level appears to be even higher than that of the Japanese. Approximately 70% of the population are high school or college graduates. Age and occupational distributions are, however, somewhat different. Compared to 60% among the Japanese and 51% for the entire nation, only 30% of the working Koreans are in the field of technical and professional areas. The median age of the Koreans is 37 years. In spite of their short immigration history, many of the Koreans seem to have managed to incorporate themselves into the middle-class income range of the American society. About 45% of the households earn less than $15,000 a year, 45% earn $15,000 -$20,000, and 32% earn more than $20,000. About 80% of the population live within the city; most of the remainder are found in north and northwest suburbs of Chicago.

The Korean Association of Chicago, a most representative community organization , publishes a directory of its membership every two or three years. The Korean Directory of Chicago published in 1974 listed approximately 50% of the estimated households of Korean population in the Chicago area. In order to secure a more representative sample, a few Korean church membership lists and the Chicago and Vicinity Telephone Directory were used in the sampling along with the Korean Directory of Chicago. Any overlapping of the sample was eliminated before the survey. 400 Korean households were selected using the systematic random sampling method. The questionnaires were written in the Korean language. Questionnaires were distributed and returned during July and August 1975. As in the survey of the Japanese community, either husband or wife was asked to respond without consulting with his or her spouse. Out of the 400 questionnaires, 285 were returned. The Korean community had the highest questionnaire return rate of the three communities, 70%.

RESULTS

Upon analyzing the respondents from the three communities, the samples reflected the general characteristics of their respective population. In the case of the Japanese sample, there were 23 Issei's (20.4%), 67 Nisei's (59.3%), and 23 Sansei's (20.4%). In the Mexican sample, the average length of time since immigration was 12.7 years (S.D. = 13.6). The average Korean respondent had lived in the United States for 4.2 years (S.D. = 4.0). The average age of the Japanese, Mexican, and Korean sample was 50.5 (S.D. = 13.0), 25.1 (S.D. = 9.5), and 30.2 (S.D. = 12.0), respectively. These figures confirm that, of the three groups, the history of Japanese immigration in the Chicago area is the oldest and the Korean, the youngest.

Inter-Group Comparisons

The first analysis was made to compare the three ethnic groups in overall interpersonal relationships within and outside of their own ethnic community. The average number of total acquaintances in each of the three ethnic groups ranged from 199.8 (Mexicans) and 265.8 (Japanese). The results showed that, for an average Japanese, the interpersonal communication network consisted primarily of individuals outside of the Japanese community. On the average, 63% of the Japanese acquaintances were non-Japanese. On the other hand, more than half (55.3%) of an average Mexican's interpersonal relationships were found to be within the Mexican ethnic community. Involvement in intra-ethnic communication relationships was even stronger among the Koreans (See Table 1).

Insert Table (1) about here.

Table (1): Percentages of Intra-Ethnic and Inter-Ethnic Communication Relationships on the Acquaintance Level

Samples	Intra-Ethnic	White American	Black American	Other Ethnic	Total
Japanese	35.3% (93.9)	46.6% (123.9)	7.0% (18.7)	11.1% (29.3)	100% (265.3)
Mexicans	55.3% (110.5)	25.1% (50.1)	12.4% (24.8)	7.2% (14.4)	100% (199.8)
Koreans	66.0% (138.1)	23.4% (48.9)	3.7% (7.7)	7.0% (14.6)	100% (209.3)

Similarly, communication relationships outside of one's own ethnic community varied across the three ethnic groups. While all three groups were associated more with White Americans than with Black Americans and other ethnic individuals, the Japanese and the Koreans knew even fewer Black Americans than the Mexicans did. Blacks consisted only 7.0% of the average Japanese' acquaintances and 3.7% of the average Korean's.

The above variations among the three ethnic groups in the size of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic acquaintances were observed consistently when the analysis was focused only on casual friendships (See Table 2). The average size of casual friends among the three samples ranged from 32.5 (Japanese) to 36.4 (Koreans). Of the three groups, the Japanese reported the highest proportion of non-Japanese friends (49.8% White Americans, 4.0% Black Americans, and 7.4% other ethnic individuals). Conversely, the average Korean immigrant had the highest proportion of casual friends within the Korean community (78.6%), while 51.2% of the average Mexican's casual friends were other Mexicans or Latinos.[7]

Insert Table (2) about here.

When the total size of intimate friends was computed, it was found that the average Japanese, Mexican, and Korean reported 8.6, 8.4, and 8.7 intimate friends, respectively. The same variations that have been observed in the analyses of total acquaintances and casual friends were consistently present on the intimate friendship level (See Table 3). Of the three groups, the Japanese again reported the lowest percentage of intimate friends within the Japanese community (41.9%), the Mexican the second lowest (65.5%), and the Korean the highest (73.6%) proportion of intra-ethnic intimate friends. The Mexicans had the highest proportion of Black American friends (7.1%) among the three groups.

Table (2): Percentages of Intra-Ethnic and Inter-Ethnic Communication Relationships on the Casual Friendship Level

Samples	Intra-Ethnic	White American	Black American	Other Ethnic	Total
Japanese	49.8% (16.2)	38.8% (12.6)	4.0% (1.3)	7.4% (2.4)	100% (32.5)
Mexicans	51.2% (16.8)	22.0% (7.2)	18.6% (6.1)	8.2% (2.7)	100% (32.8)
Koreans	78.6% (28.6)	16.2% (5.9)	1.6% (0.6)	0.6% (1.3)	100% (36.4)

The Japanese and the Koreans reported 4.7% and 3.4% respectively, of all intimate friends as Black Americans.

Insert Table (3) about here.

Thus, it is clear that, among the three ethnic groups, the Japanese are the most active participants in the interpersonal communication networks outside of their own community. On the other hand, the Koreans, whose immigration history is the shortest of the three groups, are still heavily ethnic in their interpersonal networks. The Mexicans are somewhat more incorporated into the communication system outside of their own community than the Koreans, but not as much as the Japanese. Also, the Mexicans show a higher degree of interaction with the Black population than the other two groups do.

An additional observation was made when inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic communication relationships were compared across the three levels of intimacy. In all three ethnic groups, the proportion of intra-ethnic communication relationships was greater on acquaintance level than on friendship level. In the case of the Japanese, 35.3% of the total acquaintances were other Japanese. This proportion of intra-ethnic relationships increased to 49.8% on the casual friendship level and 41.9% on intimate friendship level. Similarly, an average Mexican reported 55.3% of total acquaintances and 51.2% of casual friends as other Mexicans or Latinos, compared to the 65.5% on the level of intimate friendship. The association between level of intimacy and proportion of intra-ethnic relationships is even more clearly observed among the Koreans. The average Korean's relationships with other Koreans constituted 66.0%, 78.6%, and 73.6% respectively, of all acquaintances, casual friends, and intimate friends.

Table (3): Percentages of Intra-Ethnic and Inter-Ethnic Communication Relationships on the Intimate Friendship Level

Samples	Intra-Ethnic	White American	Black American	Other Ethnic	Total
Japanese	41.9% (3.6)	43.0% (3.7)	4.7% (0.4)	10.5% (0.9)	100% (8.6)
Mexicans	65.5% (5.5)	17.9% (1.5)	7.1% (0.6)	9.5% (0.8)	100% (8.4)
Koreans	73.6% (6.4)	18.4% (1.6)	3.4% (0.3)	4.6% (0.4)	100% (8.7)

The differences in the proportions of intra-ethnic relationships between the adjacent levels of intimacy (i.e., between acquaintance level and casual friendship level, or between casual friendship level and intimate friendship level) is not as clear as the differences between the levels of acquaintances and intimate friends. Nonetheless, the data do suggest that the ethnic individuals have greater difficulty participating in interpersonal communication networks outside of their own ethnic communities on an intimate level than they do on a more casual level.

Intra-Group Comparisons

Data from the Japanese and the Mexican communities were further analyzed to compare patterns of interpersonal communication relationships among their subgroups with differential lengths of immigration. Since results of the Korean sample have been reported elsewhere, they will not be discussed here (See Kim, 1977b).

The Japanese Sample: As mentioned earlier, the Japanese sample consisted of 23 Issei's, 67 Nisei's, and 23 Sansei's. Because the survey was aimed toward household heads, no Yonsei's (fourth generation) were included as respondents.

The three generations were compared as to their patterns of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communication relationships on an acquaintance level (See Figure 1). On the whole, all three generations manifested a high degree of participation in interpersonal networks outside of their own community. It was also clear that the third-generation group was significantly more incorporated into the host social system than the first and the second generations. In all three generations, the majority of the members of the host society whom the Japanese interacted with were White Americans.

Insert Figure (1) about here.

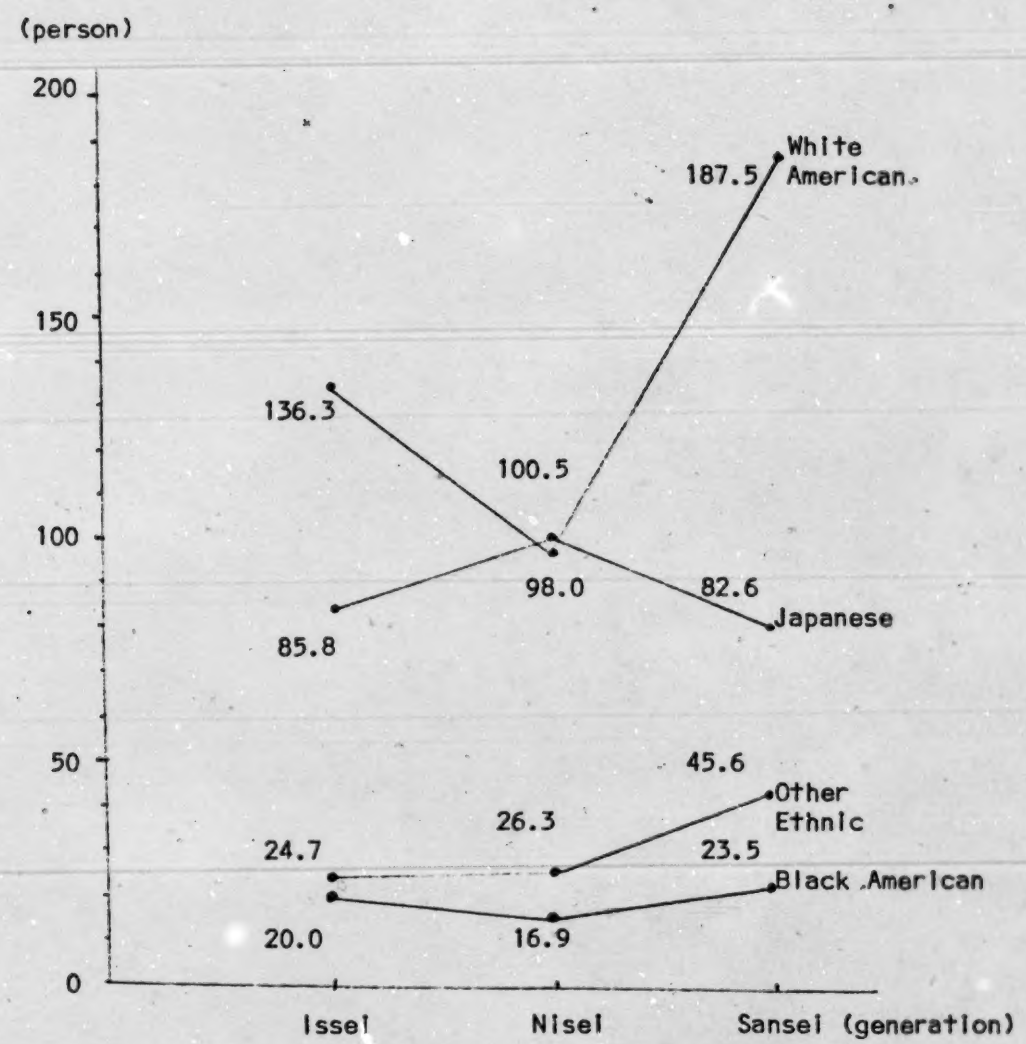

Figure (1): Inter-Generational Comparison of Japanese' Intra-Ethnic and Inter-Ethnic Acquaintances

In Figure (1), a distinct pattern of interpersonal relationships was observed among the Nisei's. While the Issei's and the Sansei's knew far more White Americans than Japanese, the Nisei's participated in the Japanese community as much as they did among White Americans. This pattern seems unique and contrary to a common observation one can make regarding an inter-generational decrease in intra-ethnic communication among many European ethnic groups in the United States.[7]

However, when one considers the history and structure of the Japanese community, it is not difficult to infer a few factors that lie behind the unique patterns of communication relationships among the Nisei's. First, the Nisei's comprise the majority of the middle-age group of the Japanese population, and are the primary organizers of and participants in most of their community activities. Second, many of the Nisei's were sent to Japan by their Issei parents for education. This means that some of them have actually lived in the United States for far shorter periods of time than the Issei's have. Third, the political and social pressures against the Japanese population during and after the World War II raised the consciousness of nationalism among the Japanese. Such a historical mood coincided with the time when many of the Nisei's were turning into their adulthood. As a result of these factors, the Nisei's today are the most active participants in the Japanese community.

A similar pattern of inter-generational variation was observed in interpersonal communication on the casual and intimate friendship levels (See Figure 2 and 3). The Nisei's had more Japanese friends (average 17.7) than the Issei's (13.3) and the Sansei's (17.7). Among the Sansei's, Japanese friends comprised only half (53.3%) of their predominantly White American friends outside of their community. On the intimate friendship level, the survey showed that half of

the intimate friendship circle of the Nisei's were Japanese and the other half were American.

Insert Figure (2) and Figure (3) about here.

It is also interesting to note that the Issei's had an average of 2.1 friends who were In other ethnic groups (such as Koreans, Chinese, and Mexicans). On the other hand, almost no such ethnic individuals were incorporated into the intimate friendship network of the second and the third generation Japanese.

Overall, the inter-generational comparisons of the Japanese sample show a unique quality in the communication patterns of the Japanese population. The observed uniqueness of the second-generation Japanese' communication patterns suggest an importance of historical and structural knowledge about the community in studying the acculturation processes of ethnic individuals. Considering the historical background of the Japanese community, the general expectation that ethnic individuals participate more as they stay longer in the host society seems to have been supported.

The Mexican Sample: To compare patterns of interpersonal communication relationships among Mexicans with differential lengths of immigration, the sample was divided into three subgroups. Out of the 176 respondents, 95 had lived in the United States less than 10 years (Group 1), 49 respondents, between 10 and 20 years (Group 2), and 32 respondents, more than 21 years (Group 3). The average number of interpersonal relationships in each of the three groups was computed on the levels of acquaintances, casual friends, and intimate friends.

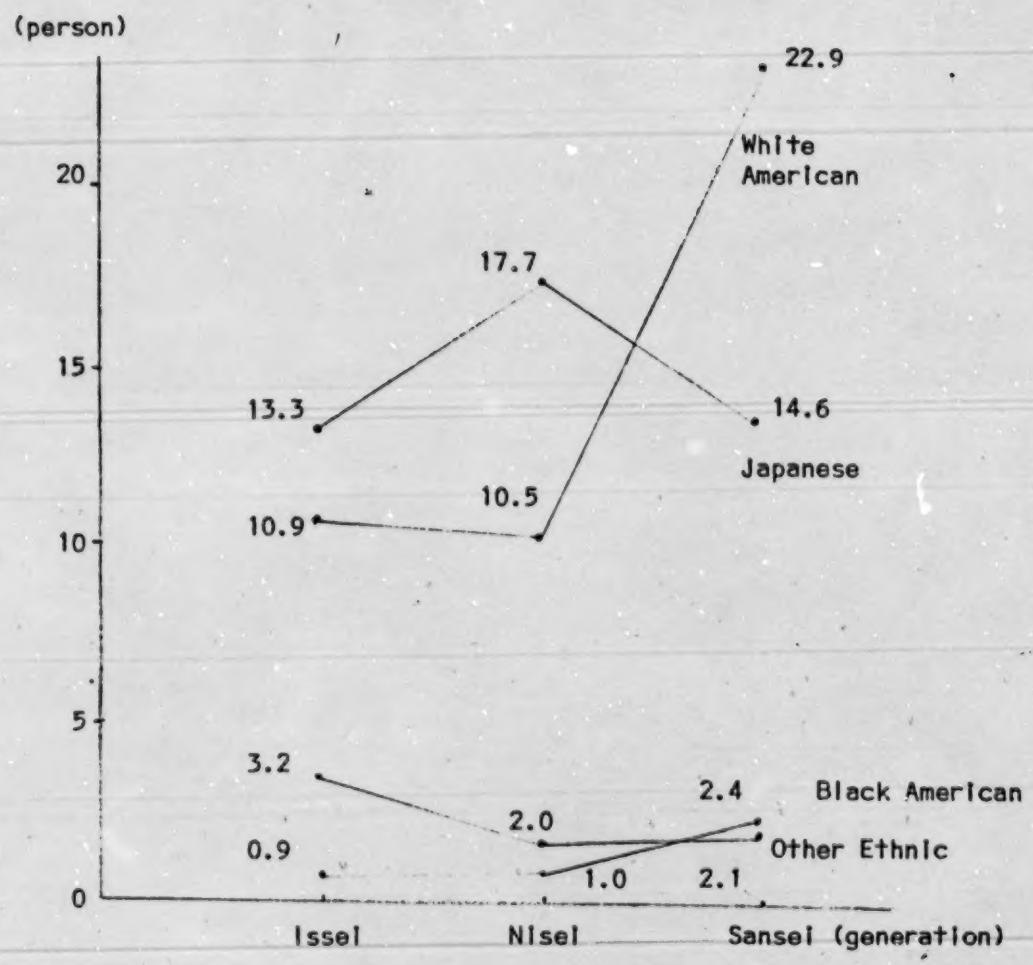

Figure (2): Inter-Generational Comparison of Japanese' Intra-Ethnic and Inter-Ethnic Casual Friends

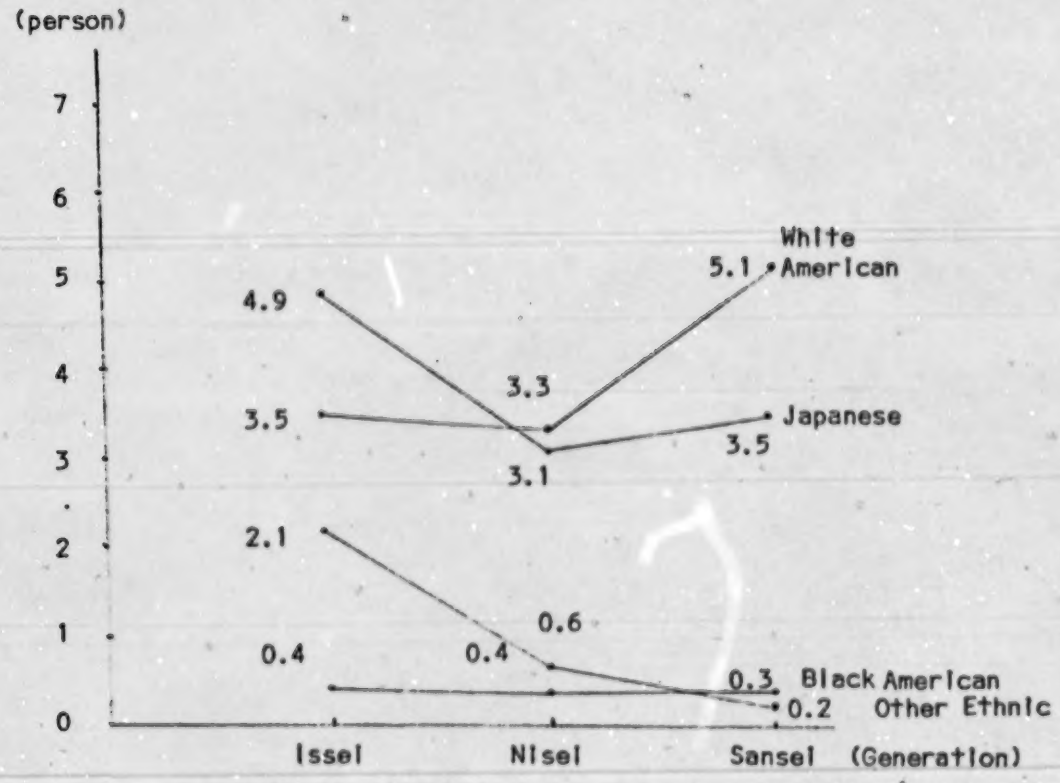

Figure (3): Inter-Generational Comparison of Japanese Intra-Ethnic and Inter-Ethnic Intimate Friends

Based on the cross-sectional data, a comparison was made among the three groups (See Figure 4). It was clearly demonstrated that the first-generation Mexican immigrants interacted predominantly within their own ethnic community. There was a gradual increase over the years in the size of interpersonal relationships both within and outside of the community. The average number of Mexican acquaintances in Group (1) was 88.9, and 134 in Group (3). Similarly, the number of White American acquaintances increased from 28.7 (Group 1) to 116.7 (Group 3). The number of Black American acquaintances increased from 13.2 to 58.1 across the three groups.

Insert Figure (4) about here.

Similar trends were observed on the level of casual friendship (See Figure 5). The number of casual friends outside of the ethnic community increased consistently as the length of immigration increased. At the same time, the number of casual friends within the community was significantly higher in Group (3) than in Group (1). Casual friends in the host society consisted of about equal numbers of White Americans and Black Americans in Group (2) and Group (3). In the case of long-time Mexican immigrants (Group 3), however, the average number of Black American friends (11.8) was even higher than that of White American friends (9.5).

Insert Figure (5) about here.

Developmental trends on the level of intimate friendship of the Mexicans were somewhat different from the trends on the level of acquaintances and casual friends. There was a general increase across the three groups in the number of both Mexican and White American intimate friends. However, the differences

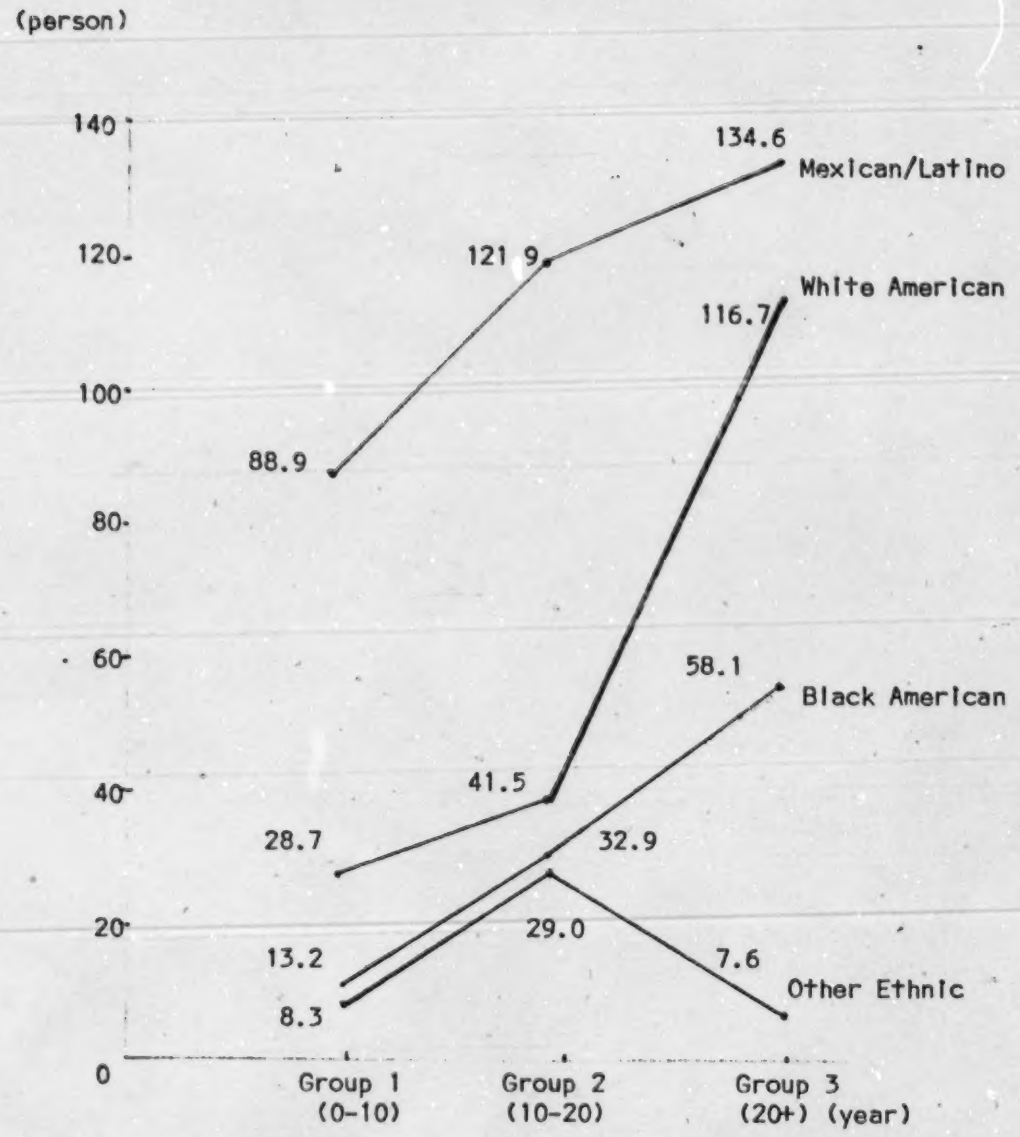

Figure (4): Intra-Group Comparison of Mexicans' Intra-Ethnic and Inter-Ethnic Acquaintances

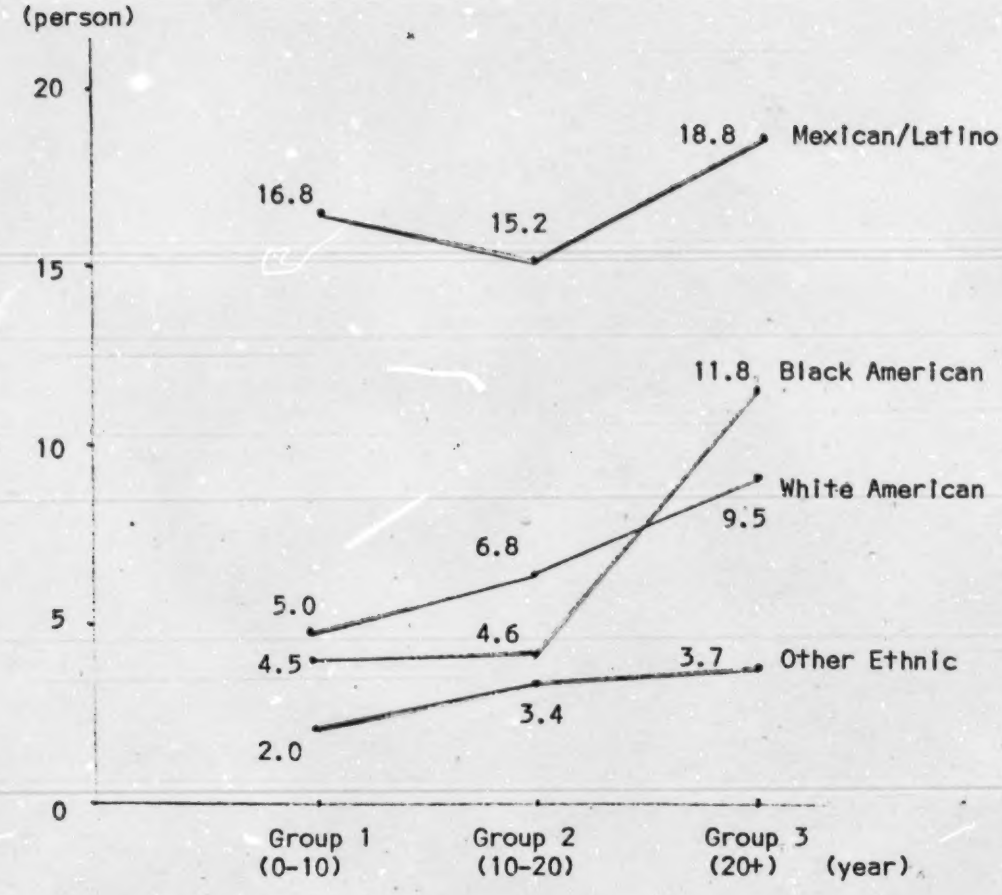

Figure (5): Intra-Group Comparison of Mexicans' Intra-Ethnic and Inter-Ethnic Casual Friends

between Group (2) and Group (3) were not as substantial as those reported earlier. A decrease was observed in the number of Mexicans/Latinos, Black Americans, and other ethnic individuals between Group (2) and Group (3). On the other hand, the number of White American intimate friends slightly increased from 2.2 (Group 2) to 2.4 (Group 3) persons (See Figure 6).

Insert Figure (6) about here.

Overall, it appeared that changes in the composition of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic relationships of the Mexicans were more significant on the level of intimate friendship than on the level of acquaintances and casual friends. The increase in the proportion of White American intimate friends, along with the lengths of immigration history,affected such changes. On the levels of casual acquaintances and casual friends, however, the number of relationships increased simultaneously both within and outside of the Mexican community. Thus, the ratio between the two kinds of relationships remained unchanged.

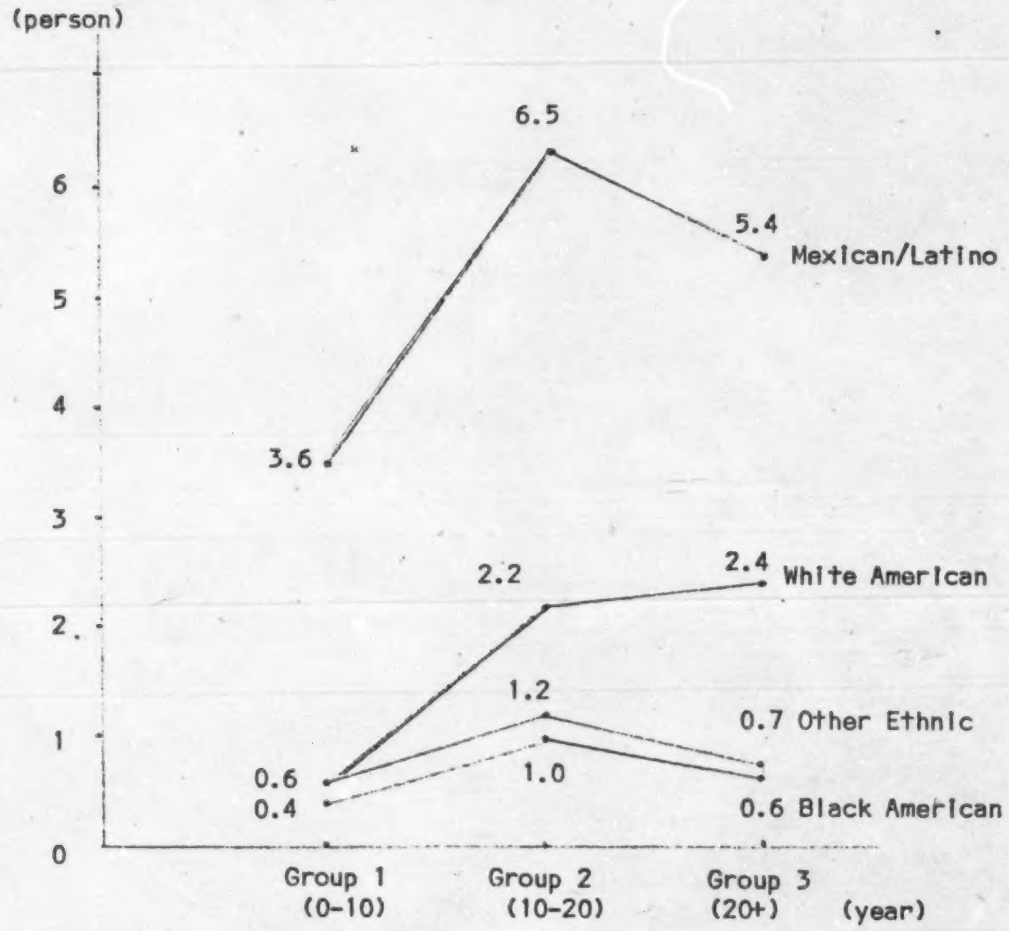

Figure (6): Intra-Group Comparison of Mexicans' Intra-Ethnic and Inter-Ethnic Intimate Friends

DISCUSSION

Based on the above findings, the following conclusions can be drawn:

First, this study has demonstrated a positive relationship between the length of immigration history and the degree of ethnic individuals' inter-ethnic communication. The Japanese, who had the longest immigration history, showed the highest proportion of communication relationships outside of their own community. Involvement in inter-ethnic communication was lowest among the Koreans whose immigration history was the shortest among the three communities. A further evidence was observed within the Japanese and the Mexican community. There was an overall increase in inter-ethnic communication across the first, second, and third generation Japanese. Among the Mexicans, the proportion of inter-ethnic communication increased as the length of immigration increased.

Second, this study has demonstrated a negative relationship between the length of immigration history and the degree to which ethnic individuals interact with members of their own community. Intra-ethnic communication was strongest among the Koreans and weakest among the Japanese. The proportion of intra-ethnic communication relationships among the Mexicans was somewhat lower than that of the Koreans, but higher than that of the Japanese. An exception was observed among the second generation Japanese, who showed a greater participation within the Japanese community than the first and the third generation Japanese. Considering the history and the structure of the Japanese community, however, such a phenomenon seems to be a unique, rather than a typical, phenomenon. This assumption needs to be validated by comparing inter-generational trends in communication patterns among various ethnic groups.

The above two conclusions lead to a third conclusion -- the more an ethnic individual (or an ethnic group) participates in intra-ethnic communication, the less he (or the ethnic group) will participate in inter-ethnic communication. Here, the inverse relationship is based on the proportions, not necessarily the actual sizes, of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communication relationships. Among the Mexicans, those who had a higher proportion of intra-ethnic communication relationships showed a lower proportion of inter-ethnic communication relationships. The Nisei's, whose intra-ethnic communication were most active, were least active of the three generations of Japanese outside of the Japanese community. Among the three ethnic groups, the Koreans were most ethnic and, at the same time, were least incorporated into the communication networks outside of the Korean community.

Fourth, the study has shown empirical evidence regarding an inverse relationship between levels of interpersonal intimacy and degrees to which ethnic individuals participate in inter-ethnic communication. In all three ethnic groups, the number of (and the proportion of) communication relationships outside their own ethnic community decreased as the level of interpersonal relationships increased toward intimacy. On the contrary, the proportions of intra-ethnic communication relationships increased along with the level of interpersonal intimacy.

The apparent difficulty of ethnic individuals to develop intimate communication relationships outside their own ethnic group is effectively explained by employing the levels of interpersonal communication relationships proposed by Miller and Steinberg (1975). Based on the assumption that people make predictions about the effects or outcomes of their communication behaviors, Miller and Steinberg outlined three levels of interpersonal communication relationships -- cultural, sociological and psychological. As a communication relationship develops, the level of analysis each person makes also progresses

from cultural, to sociological, to the psychological level. As the level of analysis becomes more personalized, the complexity of the analysis increases. Cultural differences between individuals become less visible since they are often deeply rooted in each other's values, attitudes, and mentality. For both ethnic individuals and members of the host society, the task of understanding and analyzing their communication behaviors and outcomes may be too problematic to accomplish, and thus, to develop and maintain an intimate interpersonal relationship.

Fifth, the present study has provided an insight into the role of communication environment in influencing communication behaviors of ethnic individuals. The communication environment -- both physical and social -- in which an immigrant lives his day-to-day life determines the "interaction potential," i.e., types of individuals he may communicate with. The finding that the Mexicans interacted more with Black Americans than the Japanese or the Koreans is consistent with the fact that many of the Mexicans lived in inner-city low-income neighborhoods. There seems to be an important interplay between an ethnic individual's (or an ethnic group's) social and economic status, physical environment (or geographical distribution), and patterns of interpersonal communication relationships. As he (or an ethnic group) moves upward in the social structure of the host society, his (or the ethnic group's) communication environment seems to change accordingly. Also, the social and physical entry point of an immigrant should contribute significantly to the subsequent communication experiences he will be exposed to.

A significant implication of this finding is that we need to study acculturation processes of ethnic individuals (and groups) from a contextual and functional point of view. A society is not a unified, homogenous system, but a conglomeration of subsystems that share common social-cultural characteristics

as well as distinct characteristics. As the present study demonstrated, different ethnic groups and individuals are acculturated into different subsets of the host society. Similarly, an American missionary moving to a Nigerian village is likely to experience the Nigerian culture from a different angle than an American businessmen who socializes primarily with affluent Nigerians in urban centers. Even the natives of a society live in a relatively limited social and physical environment, and seldom come to grips with the entire social system. Therefore, the traditional anthropological approach to acculturation to establish THE norms, values, and behavioral modes of a host society and to assess an ethnic individual's (or an ethnic group's) acculturation based on his adoption of the new patterns seems to be neither appropriate nor feasible. An individual's acculturation needs to be understood within the social-cultural contexts functionally significant to his daily life. The same principle should be applied to studies of an ethnic group's acculturation.

Finally, the present study used a very simple method of assessing ethnic individuals' interpersonal communication patterns. Their communication patterns were measured by asking them three direct questions on the number of people they knew on the levels of acquaintances, casual friends, and intimate friends. The numbers that the respondents provided may not be exact, particularly on the level of acquaintances. Nonetheless, they did provide a reasonably sensitive indicator of the quantity and quality of interpersonal communication relationships within and across ethnic groups. An additional merit of the simple questions lies in the fact that they are not culture-bound and, therefore, effective in cross-cultural comparisons. The value in simplicity and efficiency of the measurement, I believe, exceeds its weakness in accuracy, as long as we are aware of potential errors in respondents' estimates.

I hope that I have made a successful attempt to provide a theoretical and an empirical basis for the importance of interpersonal communication relationships in studying the acculturation process. I also hope that similar studies, with greater scopes and refined conceptualizations and measurements, will be made in the future. To understand the adaptive process of acculturation, the changes in the minds and behaviors of individuals, and the communication processes in which such changes occur -- is believed to be one of the most essential tasks for students of intercultural communication, and of human communication in general.

FOOTNOTES

1. The concept, ethnic individuals or an ethnic group, refers to cultural subsystems of larger societies in which a group of people share a common and distinctive cultural origin.

2. Sociologists generally use the term "community" in a combined social and spatial sense, referring to an aggregate of people who occupy a common and bounded territory within which they establish and participate in common institutions. In this study, however, I employ the term in a purely social and cultural sense, almost without reference to the spatial community or neighborhood.

3. Descriptions of the Japanese community are based on the following sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary, PC (1)-D1, Subject Reports: Japanese, Chinese, and Philipinos in the United States, PC (2)-1G, Subject Reports: National Origin and Languages, PC (2) -1A; Chicago Shimpo, Inc., Chicago Japanese American Directory, 1976 Edition; and informal interviews with various community leaders by a research assistant, Mr. Neal Tashima.

4. Descriptions of the Mexican community are based on the following sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary, PC (1)-D1, Subject Reports: National Origin and Languages, PC (2) -1A; and interviews by a research assistant, Mrs. Nancy Doty, with Mr. Joe Frattaroli (Illinois Office of Education), Mr. Emilio Moro (Directory, the Hispanic Foundation), Dr. Vinicio Reyes (Director, Bilingual and Bicultural Education Program, Governors State University), Mr. Hector Ortiz (Director, Community Relations, Governors State University), and Mr. Victor Perez (South Lawndale Urban Progress Center), among others.

5. Information about the Korean community in the Chicago area are based on the following sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary, PC (1)-D1, Subject Reports: National Origin and Languages, PC(2) -1A; Hankook Ilbo Miju News (Korean Daily Newspaper), Chicago, August 14 and October 30, 1975; Korean Directory of the Chicago Area: 1974-5, published by the Korean Association of Chicago, 1974.

6. In assessing the Mexican respondents' interpersonal communication relationships, we did not make a distinction between their Mexican acquaintances and friends and other Latino (Spanish-speaking) acquaintances and friends. All of the community leaders we consulted agreed that it was unnecessary for us to provide a separate category for other Latino acquaintances and friends.

7. This statement is not based on scientific data, but on informal observations. However, the assumption has been shared by many others including a good number of my students in intercultural communication classes. They have consistently reported the same observation in their independent research of various ethnic groups.

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APPENDIX:

A SAMPLE OF QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

The following three questions were asked in the survey of Japanese to assess interpersonal communication relationships.

1. At the present time in the Chicago area, how many persons in each of the following groups do you know well enough at least to talk with when you happen to meet them? Please answer in numbers as accurately as possible.

Japanese-Americans	_____	persons
White Americans	_____	persons
Black Americans	_____	persons
Other Ethnic Individuals	_____	persons

2. Out of the number of people that you have just mentioned above, how many do you visit with in one another's home?

Japanese-Americans	_____	persons
White Americans	_____	persons
Black Americans	_____	persons
Other Ethnic Individuals	_____	persons

3. About how many of the people you have mentioned above are so close that you can discuss your private and personal problems with?

Japanese-Americans	_____	persons
White Americans	_____	persons
Black Americans	_____	persons
Other Ethnic Individuals	_____	persons